

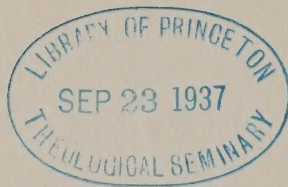
Headline Books

Church +
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1937

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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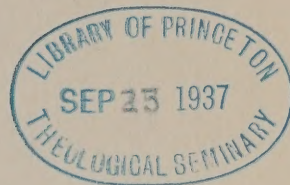


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Goslin, Ryllis Clair
Alexander, 1901-
Church and state

CHURCH AND STATE

BY

RYLLIS ALEXANDER ✓ GOSLIN



HEADLINE BOOKS

NUMBER

TEN

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
EIGHT WEST FORTIETH STREET NEW YORK

1937

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

The object of Headline Books is to aid the discussion of important international problems by providing a balanced background against which the reader may make up his own mind on these questions of the day.

The Foreign Policy Association wishes to express its appreciation to the members of the Editorial Committee, at whose suggestion the present title was included in the series and whose cooperation and help made the study possible. The Editorial Committee are members of the American Advisory Council of the World Conference held at Oxford, England, July, 1937. This Conference, with delegates from practically every nation and every Christian communion in the world, was called by the Universal Christian Council to study the whole theme of the Church, the State and Society.

THE AUTHOR

Ryllis Alexander Goslin, who has created the easy-to-read style of the Headline Books, is the Editor of the Series.

The illustrations in Headline Books are created by Omar Pancoast Goslin, Director of Promotion for the Foreign Policy Association.

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CHURCH AND STATE

We all know what it is to be afraid. It is when we are afraid that we worry. Sometimes we worry needlessly. We feel sure that something terrible is going to happen—which never does. Or we worry because we are afraid that something we want to have happen won't happen. But today many people have real worries. They are very much afraid—of not having enough to eat, or of losing their jobs or their incomes, or of being put out of their homes, or of having to go to war.

Now when a man can understand clearly his difficulties and can do something to solve them, he can get rid of his fear and stop worrying. But as long as he feels helpless either to understand his problems or to deal with them, his fear clings to him and increases. Unfortunately most of the people in the world today are in the position of not understanding their problems and therefore of feeling helpless to do anything about them.

And they have plenty of reason to be troubled. There is turmoil and confusion, conflict between nations or groups within nations, tangled economic problems for individuals and nations, and almost fatal doubt and uncertainty about spiritual ideals and moral values. Vast changes have taken place and are still going on. Some men call it a world revolution, others the transition from the end of one era to the beginning of another, still others the birth pangs of a new civilization.

What does it all mean? Why are these changes taking place? As we look back over the past thirty or forty years, two factors stand out as being chiefly responsible for present world conditions—the World War and modern technology.

Truman } 66 million
 As } 10 11 11
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Can be described as the
house & lot & furniture of

What the War Did

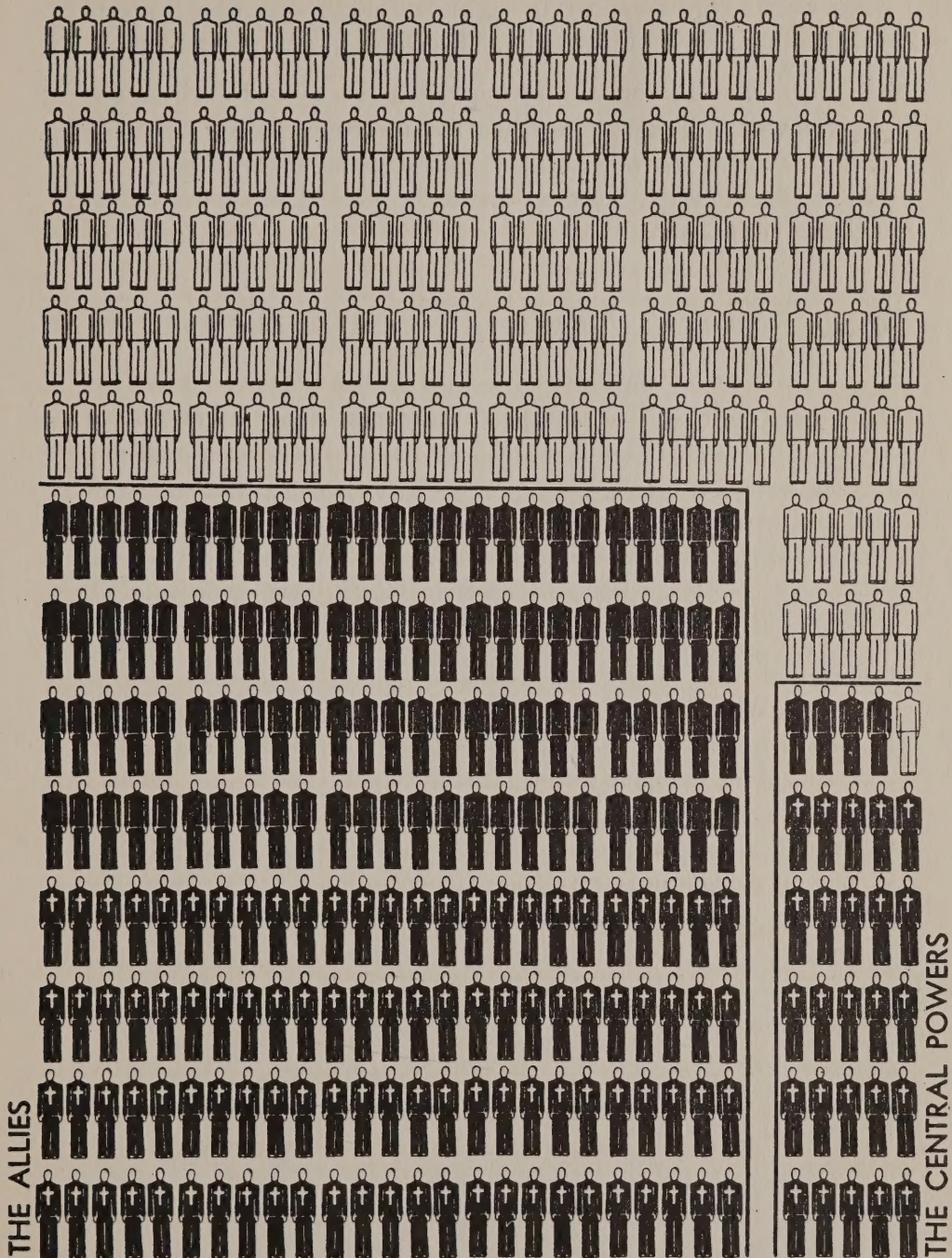
A little more than twenty years ago more than half the people of the world were at war. Over sixty-five million men were actually engaged in the business of fighting. Of these, ten million were killed and another twenty million were wounded. In addition, this war cost billions upon billions of dollars, first for war supplies, and then in the destruction of property which these supplies made possible. By all odds it was the most expensive and the most destructive war in human history.

And yet, these losses of life and property were not all or even the most serious results of the war. Men marched off to fight for ideals of freedom and democracy. They came back disillusioned by the horror and the folly of the great catastrophe. They were no longer able to see purpose in a universe where such a war could take place. Men lost faith not only in themselves but in the institutions which they had been taught to respect. Grave doubts arose in their minds for instance about the Christian Church.

The majority of the nations at war called themselves Christian. The armies on both sides were blessed by Christian priests and chaplains. Christian ministers preached "war sermons," called for recruits, and prayed for the success of their own forces which in turn meant the defeat and slaughter of the enemy. There was an appalling unreality about the idealism with which these so-called Christian nations fought, a shocking contrast between the teachings of all great religions and the vast destruction to which religious leaders had given their blessing. So the faith of many and particularly of youth in religious institutions was badly shaken.

Nor was the church the only institution which suffered as a result of the harsh cynicism which followed the war. Men and women came also to doubt the governments which carried on that war, and to question the validity of social traditions that gave no better foundation to modern civilization. To some it all meant that old traditions and institutions must be destroyed to make room for better ones; to others that human nature is little removed from the animal kingdom and that men must live by the rule of the

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD INVOLVED IN THE WORLD WAR AND THE POPULATION OF THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS ON EACH SIDE



EACH FIGURE ON PAGE—5 MILLION OF WORLD POPULATION
EACH BLACK FIGURE—5 MILLION OF POPULATION UNDER GOVERNMENTS AT WAR
EACH FIGURE WITH CROSS—5 MILLION OF POPULATION OF CHRISTIAN NATIONS AT WAR

(a) There is one only apple on the tree - revolution - rise of new social philosophies and new governments.

jungle where force makes right. In one country after another there has been revolution and the rise of new social philosophies and new governments.

Thus the war, with its stupendous cost, affected the lives, the property, and the thinking of millions of men and women all over the world. That alone would have been enough to cause upheavals in the affairs of men for some time to come. But there has been another factor even more far-reaching in its effects.

II What Technology Is Doing

(a) It is commonplace to say that the scientist and the engineer have transformed our lives. And yet it is hard for us to realize to what extent this is true. We are conscious of changes in the way we build, light, heat, and cool our houses, in the methods by which we may travel, receive news or send messages, and in the means we have of fighting disease and prolonging life. Electricity, steam-heat, air-conditioning, automobile, electric locomotive, ocean liner, airplane, telephone, telegraph, movies, radio—practically all these inventions and many more are products of this century, a brief space of a few years in which amazing scientific progress has taken place.

(b) What is even more astonishing, mass production and scientific farming have now for the first time made it possible to produce enough of the necessities of life to supply the masses of the people with all they can use. And this is something brand new in human experience. Down to the present time there has not been enough food, clothing or shelter to go round. The vast majority of the human race has had to be pretty much occupied with the struggle for existence, the mere physical business of trying to keep alive. In every age only a few lucky individuals have been free to devote their energies to things of the mind, to the development of the human graces, to the advancement of civilization. A few Athenians were free to develop Greek art and philosophy because of the labor of thousands of slaves. The culture of a small number of Romans was made possible by a world of conquered peoples who paid tribute.

II Scandinavia
(a) Scientist & engineer have transformed our life -
changes in way we build
light
heat
fight disease
and prolong life

4

(b) Scandinavia program note

(c) more interesting in mass prod & Scandinavia program note maker it possible for first time
for all the time all the can use - this is a brand new eff in human aff -
Shy for eff & more polyvalent human & lyse to live faster thig

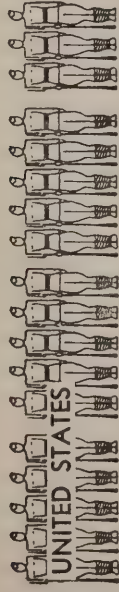
CASUALTIES OF BELLIGERENTS IN WORLD WAR

EACH SOLDIER—240,000 MOBILIZED FORCES

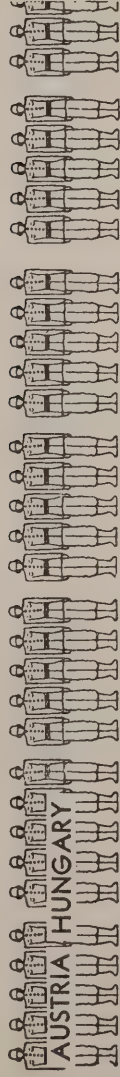
EACH CROSS—240,000 DEAD

EACH CRUTCH—240,000 WOUNDED

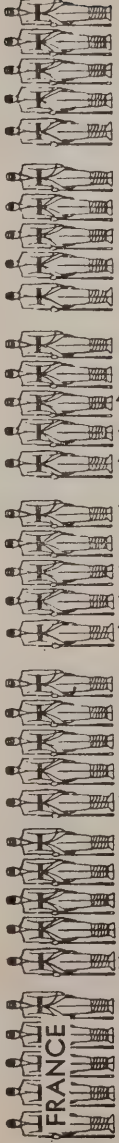
EACH QUESTION MARK—240,000 MISSING



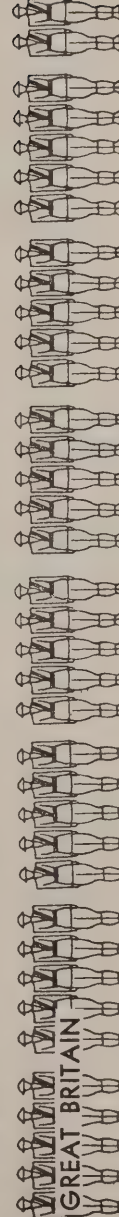
UNITED STATES



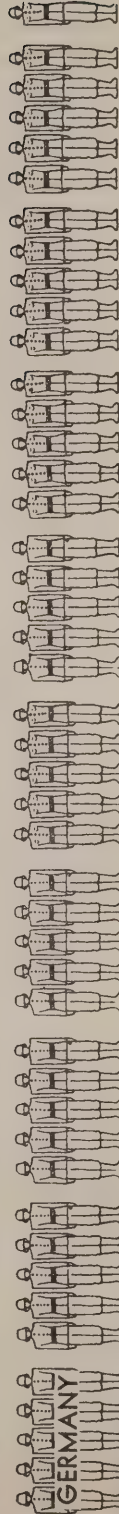
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



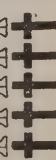
FRANCE



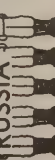
GREAT BRITAIN



GERMANY



RUSSIA



OUR ENERGY HORSES

EACH MALE WORKER

INSTALLED HORSE POWER



1900



1929



Gradually, however, the ingenuity of man has found substitutes for the physical toil of men and women—first animals, then the steam engine, now electric power and scientific methods of production. Today more and more men are being freed from physical toil, and the possibility of an age of plenty for all is within our grasp.

On the other hand, we are painfully aware that the technological revolution of the twentieth century, like the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth, instead of creating happiness and wealth, is causing suffering and waste. And it will continue to do so—spell tragedy for many—until some way is found to adjust social customs, mental habits, and economic practices to fit the new conditions.

The problem created by scientific progress is not merely one of economics. It has to do with the laying down of new principles which will govern men's dealing with one another—and is therefore an intellectual and spiritual problem as well. The problem of our day, as Harry Overstreet points out in his *Declaration of Interdependence*, is "the problem of taking these triumphs of man's genius and removing from them all possible traces of

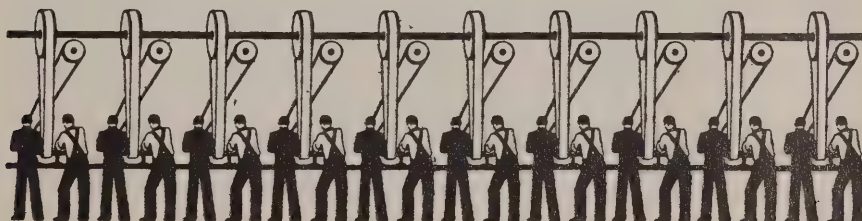
tragedy.” And tragedy is caused, as Mr. Overstreet points out, not by the inventive genius that has made the new order possible, but “the inability of the run of men—chiefly those in power—to adjust their minds to the full implications of the new instrumentalities.” Today men face “the first inevitable—and unsentimental—application of the Golden Rule to economic processes.”

Moreover the scientific revolution, like the war, has had its effect on men’s attitude toward traditional institutions. The masses of men have caught a vision of the new possibilities. They are no longer satisfied to accept less. They lose faith in all institutions that would preserve the old order. Not

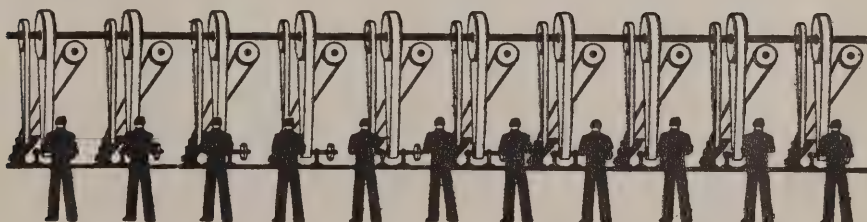
TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS DISPLACES WORKERS

NUMBER OF WORKERS REQUIRED TO DO THE SAME AMOUNT OF WORK

IN 1920



IN 1936



yet knowing exactly how the new age of plenty is to be achieved, they are ready to strike out blindly against governments, churches, social groups that seem to block their path.

Thus man's world is turned upside down and thrown into confusion. Out of the suffering and chaos come conflicting—and alarming—cries of nationalism, class struggle, racial hatred, and the surrender of personal freedom in favor of dictatorship: the rise of mental concepts and spiritual forces that are increasing men's fears and may easily lead to another great war. It is not strange then that people all over the world are desperately afraid—afraid of each other, of situations which they do not understand, of forces which they cannot control.

Getting Rid of Fear

When men are afraid, they overcome their fear either by developing confidence in themselves or by placing their faith in some force or authority which they believe has the wisdom or power to solve their problems for them, and thus give them security. Human history has been the story of this struggle for security of one kind or another—physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual. In the physical realm security means being sure of enough to eat, of clothes to wear, of a house in which to live, of adequate care in sickness and old age. In the intellectual realm it means a sense of certainty about facts and theories. In the moral realm it means being sure what is right and what is wrong. In the spiritual realm it means being convinced of some Purpose in the universe and of being attuned to the divine will so that life and even death have meaning.

Church and State

At various times in history men or groups of men have dared to trust in their own strength or their own wisdom. At other times men have turned for strength or guidance to some authority outside themselves. And the authority which they sought has been furnished chiefly by two institu-

tions known as Church and State. To the Church men have looked for authoritative interpretations as to moral and spiritual truth. To the State they have turned for the establishment of law and order, for protection against enemies within or without, and for an increasing number of public services which they could not supply for themselves.

The Question of Authority

As time has gone on, a difficult question has arisen as to what relationship should exist between Church and State. Which one should have the greater authority in the affairs of men, in deciding questions of conscience, in determining what constitutes the social good? A variety of relationships have been worked out in the course of history.

First, the Church may be above the State, the supreme authority, interpreting the will of God not only with regard to individual conduct but also prescribing the proper course of action for the State. This was the case in the Holy Roman Empire. Or the State may be above the Church, the final authority which decides what constitutes the social good and the duty of the individual citizen, and may therefore establish control over the Church or attempt to do away with it altogether. During the first three centuries of its existence the Church was a minority group in an indifferent or hostile State. Today in Nazi Germany the government is trying to establish rigid control over church affairs, while in Communist Russia the State has taken steps to eliminate the Church from the life of the nation.

Between these two extremes there are various other possible relationships. For example, Church and State may join together as partners, the Church accepting legal status from the State as the established authority, and the State securing the Church's blessing on its rulers and policies. This has been the accepted relationship in the Eastern Orthodox countries such as the old Russia, or in certain Protestant Scandinavian countries, or even in England. Or, as in certain Roman Catholic nations, Church and State become partners through a concordat or religious treaty. Such an agreement still

recognizes the Church as the sovereign power. This is supposed to be the relationship in Fascist Italy, but, as we shall see, the State now considers itself the supreme authority and the concordat has been made to serve political ends.

Apart from these relationships there is the so-called separation of Church and State, as we know it here in the United States. This does not mean that religion is entirely divorced from government. The President every year issues a Thanksgiving Proclamation. The Congress opens its sessions with prayer. But for the most part political and religious institutions exist independently of each other, and final authority in matters of conscience are supposed to rest with the individual who is guaranteed religious freedom and political liberty.

The Desire for Authority

Today in our increasingly complex civilization, and in the face of economic, social, and moral disintegration, grave doubts have been cast on the whole idea of democracy and individualism. Many people are again seeking for some authority outside themselves which will banish their fears and guarantee not freedom but security. In some countries new governments have been set up which are trying to solve all kinds of problems for the individual citizen.

As a result of these new forms of authority, old relationships between Church and State have shifted. In some countries the Church has lost its place of power and influence and is now being treated as the enemy of the State. Even in the still democratic countries, there are signs of struggle between religious authority and an increasingly centralized government. Let us, therefore, examine the nature of the conflict between Church and State in Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Mexico, as well as evidences of difficulty in our own country.

CHURCH AND STATE IN RUSSIA

Twenty years ago there was revolution in Russia. The masses of the people had at last grown weary of enduring untold hardships and poverty and paying heavy taxes to support a corrupt autocratic feudal government. What was more they were sick of useless bloodshed. For three years Russia had been in the war, and millions of Russian soldiers had been sent to the front—ill-fed, poorly equipped, badly trained. Seventy-six percent of them were killed or wounded. Finally in March 1917 soldiers, peasants, workers rebelled and the Tsar abdicated.

For a few months Alexander Kerensky and a group of moderate socialists tried to establish a democracy, but their program was not enough to satisfy starving people and soldiers being slaughtered in the trenches. Urged on by a group of radical socialists, men and women demanded "Peace! Bread! Land!" Again in November 1917 there was revolution and a new leader named Lenin took charge. Immediately he made peace with the Central Powers and withdrew from the war. In the name of the government he confiscated factories and farms and set up a Communist dictatorship.

The new government was primarily interested in trying to supply the social and economic needs of the masses of the people. The leaders believed that this could be done by developing the resources of the country not on the basis of individual initiative and private profit but on the basis of social planning and the principle of production for use instead of for profit. They found, however, after bitter experience that it would be necessary to apply modern methods of science and technology to industry and agriculture, and to train workers and peasants to understand these new ways of doing things.

In 1928 the business of transforming Russia from a primitive agricultural country into a modern industrial nation began in earnest. The task has been even greater than the one which occupied Americans for more than a hundred years. There is much yet to be done before living standards of the majority in Russia can compare favorably with the living standards of the

majority in the United States. But the greatest social and economic experiment of our day is going on under the strong and determined hand of the Communist dictatorship, and amazing progress has already been made.

Thus there has grown up in Russia a new political authority with startlingly different attitudes toward the ideas, the customs, and the institutions of the old Russia. One of the institutions which has been most affected by this change of government has been the Church.

What Happened to the Church

As we have already noted, the old Russian Empire was a good example of the partnership of Church and State. The Eastern Orthodox Christianity was the State religion. The Tsar was head of the Church. Religious and political authority were closely interrelated, Church and State serving in many ways to strengthen each other.

In time of revolution any institution closely related to a regime that has meant oppression and cruelty is likely to suffer the same condemnation. The Russian Church had shared the wealth, the power, and the corruption of the Tsarist government. It was only natural, therefore, that it should share the same fate. Many church buildings were destroyed. Lands belonging to monasteries and other church institutions were seized and divided up among the peasants. Many priests were killed, some because they tried to hold on to church property, others because they had proved to be particularly objectionable to the people. In some villages church buildings were converted into clubs, schools, or storehouses for grain.

What is more, the government has carried on a campaign of propaganda against organized religion. Anti-god museums were set up in cities, often in confiscated church buildings or monasteries, where sham miracles were exposed and pictures displayed as evidence of the close association between church dignitaries, the Tsar and his army officers. Graphic statistics showed the revenues taken by the church from the peasantry.

Numerous restrictions have been placed on the activities of the

church, particularly in the field of education. Parents may give religious instruction in their homes but no schools may be established for this purpose, nor is the teaching of religion allowed in the secular schools. Any public propaganda for religion beyond the conducting of services or the preaching of sermons within the churches is prohibited. The government has control of all printing and refuses to print or to import religious books. Practically all seminaries for priests have been suppressed. Churches are forbidden to carry on charitable or recreational work. The children of priests are not admitted to institutions of higher education. And priests and others active in religious work are sometimes arrested and deported on grounds that they do not understand.

A Church Worth Saving?

Christian people in other parts of the world have been shocked by this treatment of the church and religion. They are inclined to condemn the Russian government without considering any of the underlying reasons for its attitude. It is important, however, for those who are anxious to defend the cause of true religion to understand the factors involved.

In the first place, there was much about the religious institutions of old Russia that was unworthy of the name Christian. The Orthodox Church, like the government which it supported, exacted heavy taxes from the oppressed people. The monasteries, also enjoying rich incomes from the poverty-stricken peasants and workers, were full of superstition and false claims about miracles. Many of the priests throughout the villages were illiterate and grasping. The Church, as an ally of the Tsar and his court, was more interested in accumulating wealth and political power than in caring for the needs—physical, intellectual or spiritual—of the masses of the people.

Dr. John Macmurray, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of London and a leading Christian thinker, has declared that he could come to only one conclusion, and "it is a conclusion that all true friends of religion will share—nearly all that religion has been, and has meant, in

Russia ought to perish forever from the face of the earth and from the memory of man."

Moreover many of the teachings of the church, like other primitive religions, served to keep the people in ignorance and to fill their minds with superstition. In times of drought the priests led the peasants in procession around the fields praying for rain. They taught the people that the size of the crop depended not so much on how well it was cultivated as on the ceremonial blessing of the fields. Even down to the present time some peasants fix the time of sowing and reaping not from any knowledge of agriculture or weather conditions but by the traditional saints' days. And the priests still urge the people to depend for health and the prevention of disease upon anointings and prayers rather than on the scientific measures provided by the commissariat of health.

The Communist View of Religion

These then are some of the reasons why religion means superstition and magic to the leaders of the new Russia. They believe that any faith in the supernatural is an opiate, making men and women content to suffer useless hardships in this world and providing escape from injustice through promises of divine salvation in some future life. The belief in the possibility of divine intervention, says the Communist, leads the human being to pray for some easy way out of his difficulties and prevents him from resolutely attacking his problems with all of his faculties in the firm belief that he can and will solve them. Those who look forward to a future life, where injustice and suffering will be atoned for and where evil will be punished and good rewarded, are not so much concerned with seeing that justice is done in this life.

The Communists insist that man must depend on his own efforts and set his mind steadfastly toward the improvement of life here and now. In the building of a new Russia they prefer to depend on the steadily increasing knowledge of science as "the only useful instrument and the only valid guide of human action." The continuance of religious belief is, they believe,

an obstacle to that whole-hearted acceptance of science by which they hope to improve the conditions of the people.

Carrying this reliance on science and technology to its logical conclusion, the Communists disclaim any need of a God and proclaim a "positive and uncompromising atheism." In their scientific condemnation of the miraculous and the supernatural, the Communists declare that there is nowhere any miracle, no immortality, no soul other than the temporary mind of man, and no survival of personality after death. To become a member of the Communist Party, which is of course the ruling group in Russia, one must whole-heartedly and outspokenly declare himself an atheist and must completely deny the existence of every form of the supernatural. Direct propaganda in favor of atheism was undertaken, first by individuals and then by a group of societies that have come to be known as the "Union of Militant Atheists." For a time the membership of this organization numbered as many as five millions, but the number has now dwindled to about two millions.

UNION OF MILITANT ATHEISTS IN RUSSIA

EACH FIGURE—200,000 MEMBERS

1929



1932



1937



The War on Protestants

With this attitude toward religion, the Soviet government has attempted to crush not only the old state church with its age-old abuses but all other forms of religious activity as well. Following the revolution, when the "free" or "sectarian" churches were freed from the restraint which had been placed on their evangelistic activities by the Tsarist government, they began to attract converts in great numbers. In some districts the movement gained a strength almost comparable to the early days of the Reformation in western Europe. Then, like a bolt from the blue, came the announcement in 1932 of the Five Year Plan for the Liquidation of Christianity. "By May 1937 no Church is to be left in the Soviet Union. God will therefore be expelled as a mediaeval relic from the territory of the U.S.S.R." From that day evangelical, Catholic, and Orthodox church institutions were alike doomed so far as any normal organizational life was concerned.

By confiscatory taxes, false indictments, suspensions, and all other methods at the disposal of the authorities, the work of every church was disrupted. Sunday Schools were forbidden under the "prohibition of religious teaching to minors." Bibles could be neither imported nor printed in Russia. Churches were left open in the large cities for publicity purposes, to demonstrate the validity of the "religious liberty" guaranteed by the Constitution, but essentially, the Russian Christian Church, whatever its creed, had been driven into the catacombs of a secret and precarious existence.

Within three years the number of Lutheran pastors shrank from about 275 to 88. In 1935 there were less than half that number, and in 1936 only two were known to be still at liberty. The last Reformed congregation, located in Odessa, lost its church in 1935, and its pastor had even then been nearly a year in prison.

Although the government is unfriendly to organized religion and more than half of the people are now indifferent to the old religious traditions, the majority of the churches continue to hold services. Recently, with the new Constitution, there has been a revival of religious activity. It is estimated that there are about 30,000 churches still open, or about 60% of those exist-

ing before the revolution. Priests of the Orthodox Church walk freely about the streets. There is no law against the expression of belief—Christian, Jewish, Moslem or Buddhist. The services are conducted by priests or teachers chosen by the congregations. The buildings are the property of the State and are leased rent-free, subject to the payment of taxes and the keeping of the building in proper repair. Births, marriages, and burials may be blessed by religious rites in the home or in the church if people so desire. For some years the government has refused to allow any village church to be secularized except by an overwhelming vote of the village electors.

Communism: a New Religion?

Because of its attempt to destroy religion, Communism has been called materialistic. As a matter of fact, however, it has developed a new kind of faith—faith in science, but more than this, faith in the genius of the human mind to master the secrets of nature and build a better world. And because it is faith, it is something more than materialistic. It is, although they would deny the term, in almost every respect a religion which claims the devotion and loyalty of its followers and inspires them with a belief in the possibilities of a richer, fuller life.

And what is to be the nature of this better world? The aim of the Communists is a society where all the people will enjoy economic security,

CHURCHES HOLDING SERVICES IN RUSSIA

EACH FIGURE—5,000 CHURCHES

1913



1936



health, education and culture, where the good things of life will not be limited to a few fortunate individuals. Furthermore, Communists are not concerned merely with their own national welfare. They say that they are true internationalists, and would rub out the boundary lines in favor of a world state in which selfish nationalism and war would be impossible.

There are, in fact, striking similarities between this better world which the Communists are striving for and the ideal society and warless world which Christians envision. But there are important differences in the means which the two groups would employ to gain their ends. First, the Communist accepts the use of force as necessary and even inevitable in bringing about the needed reforms. Christians would do away with the use of force and believe that violent methods are sure to produce new evils. Some one has said that "when violence is the characteristic method of producing change, the inner life by which we evaluate experience and the outer life of action cease to be organically related and as a result society disintegrates."

And secondly, the Communist denies the existence of spiritual forces and insists that he will rely only on what he himself can see or hear or touch, only on those facts and instruments which can be tested scientifically. The Christian, on the other hand, while willing to apply the findings of science as far as they will go, still believes that there are forces in the universe which cannot be weighed or measured by physical standards, forces which very definitely affect human life and conduct. Some of the leading scientists of our day are inclined to agree that such forces do exist—usually called spiritual—and that man has only begun to discover the laws by which he can use the power available.

In the light of these differences, serious questions arise with regard to the Russian experiment, which only time will answer. Will the Communist's reliance on physical force, which is expressing itself now in vast national armaments, serve to confuse his sense of values and prevent him from achieving that fullness of life toward which he is striving? Or will the Communist come to recognize his dependence on those moral and spiritual forces which furnish the driving power for the highest forms of human endeavor, and without which ultimate success would seem impossible?

CHURCH AND STATE IN GERMANY

In 1919 Germany lost the war—and revolution followed. The Empire collapsed and a new democratic government was set up, which undertook the difficult task of reorganizing a defeated nation. Millions of German soldiers had been killed or wounded. Millions of the people had died of starvation because of the Allied blockade. The rest were discouraged and humiliated. Then came the bitter terms of the Versailles Treaty, the surrender of territory and colonies, the enforced shouldering of war guilt, and the obligation of paying vast sums in reparation to the Allies. In the years following the war, there were heavy taxes, inflation, unemployment.

In spite of all this, the new Republic seemed for a time to prosper and conditions in the country improved. But not for long. With the crash in 1929 economic and social problems increased and the government seemed unable to cope with them. The numerous political parties could not agree. Continual compromise made it difficult to carry out a constructive program. The processes of democracy seemed slow and cumbersome in the face of pressing need. The people grew impatient. They had not been trained in the way of self-government. They longed for the old regime which relieved them of the responsibility of having to decide things for themselves.

Moreover the humiliation of defeat was still fresh in their minds. The people had been extremely proud of the old Empire—of its culture, its science, its industry, of the discipline and efficiency of its military forces. The World War was in part an expression of the ambition and pride of this old Empire. So the Versailles Treaty rankled in the minds of German men and women and they blamed the Republic for having accepted its bitter terms. (Thus the war, the depression, and the failure of democratic methods to meet the social and economic needs of the people prepared the way for another new government—the Nazi dictatorship.)

The Nazi Party was formed back in 1920 but made little headway until 1929. From the first its leader was Adolf Hitler, a magnetic speaker, a genius of propaganda, and a man of many promises. To the

workers he promised jobs, to the peasants land, to the manufacturers low production costs. Above all, he promised to save the country from the Communists, to renounce the Versailles Treaty, to reestablish the fatherland once more as a military and political power, and thus restore the faith and pride of the people in their country.

Supported by Church Leaders

Among those who strongly supported Hitler and the Nazi Revolution were many important Lutheran leaders and thousands of church members. These people were both conservative and strongly nationalistic. They believed that Germany was being saved from Communism and that the national honor was going to be restored. Moreover, Hitler piously declared his faith in "positive Christianity," and promised that there would be no change in the relations between church and state.

Here, then, thought the church leaders, was a man who would suppress godlessness and reform public morals. For, following the war, there had been a lack of religious devotion and a falling off in church attendance. Many young people in Germany, as in other countries, had been disillusioned by the church's part in the war. They lost interest in organized religion also because of its apparent failure to meet the challenge of a changing world. So most Lutherans supported Hitler as the prophet of "positive Christianity."

And, it is true that Hitler has inspired many of the youth of Germany with new religious devotion. He has given them a cause for which they are willing to lay down their lives. But it is not the cause of Christianity or the Lutheran Church. The appeal of the new Nazi religion has been described by one youth in this way:

"For some time there has been war in my soul between my Christian faith and the new religion of the nation. I am bound to confess that the new religion has won the battle. It offers me an immediate sense of solidarity with my comrades and an ideal for which I can give my life, more persuasive and captivating than I found in the Christian religion."

What then is the nature of this new faith? It is a religion of nationalism and militarism.

The Religion of Nationalism

The Nazis worship not a universal God who is the Father of all mankind but the soul of the German people, a mystical force which has been inherited from the past and is passed on from generation to generation. They believe that it is this national spirit which has made the Germans a great people. It is this spirit which will make them once more a world power.

The citizen, therefore, owes his supreme devotion not to his God but to the State. And the chief expression of that devotion is the willingness to fight and to die. Thus nationalism scorns ideals of human brotherhood and international peace. Instead it urges the proving of racial superiority through militarism and war. Alfred Rosenberg, the foremost Nazi philosopher, has summarized this nationalistic religion as follows:

"Humanity, love of mankind, love of peace, freedom for slaves—all these are IDOLS. The Prussian soldier is the primal cell for the building of our complete being. . . . We seek the complete destruction of dishonorable democracy . . . which ignores the foundations of racialism. The idea of national honor will be for us the Alpha and Omega of all thought and action."

In order to achieve the greatness of which it is capable, the nation must be purified. It must be essentially and truly German. The real German is Nordic—a superior being described in the old Nordic Sagas. To recapture the virtues of these heroes, all elements, physical or intellectual, that are alien must be weeded out as poison.

And what are the unGerman elements? Those who belong to the Jewish race, or who have become tainted by marrying members of that race. Also those who are Socialists, or Communists, or any who have ideas about the brotherhood of man and international good-will. Finally, those who disagree with the nationalistic and militaristic policies of Hitler and the Nazi

Party, and who therefore put doubt or fear into the minds of an otherwise courageous and confident people.

As a means, therefore, of purifying the nation and welding it into a strong, disciplined whole under a single leader with singleness of purpose, ruthless persecution has been carried on against these so-called alien elements. Tens of thousands have fled from the country. Thousands have been killed or have died in prison camps. Still other thousands, including many Protestant and Catholic clergymen, as well as Jews, Socialists and Communists, are now in prison camps as "political prisoners."

"Positive Christianity"

What then do the Nazis mean by "positive Christianity"? What have the teachings of Jesus to do with this religion of "blood, soil and honor" with its intense patriotism? Just this. The Nazis do not wish to discard Christianity altogether, but they denounce and reject what they regard as negative or unGerman, in other words all elements in the Christian religion which they consider Jewish. They say that it is necessary to re-evaluate Christianity in terms of the so-called German race-soul. (National Socialism is not to be tested by Christian standards. On the contrary, Christian teachings are to be judged by the standards of National Socialism)

On the opposite page is a comparison between the Nazi religion and Christianity as the Nazis see it. It is clear from this that the Christian faith is to them a negative, cowardly religion of escape for the weak and the fearful whereas the Nazi version is a dynamic faith which will produce a stronger, more courageous, and more intelligent race.

This racial interpretation of Christianity has been expressed by various Nazi leaders. Alfred Rosenberg's book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, is required reading for all Nazis. He insists that Christianity must be purged of every trace of Jewish influence. "The so-called Old Testament must once and for all be done away with as a religious book. By this act, the unsuccessful attempts during the past 1500 years to transform us spiritually into Jews will fall to the ground." The New Testament also, he says, must

A COMPARISON BETWEEN NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY

[as published by **Der Blitz (The Lightning)**, a publication of
the Nazi neo-pagan movement known as **German Action**]

N A Z I

A **positive** attitude toward life
Awareness of **self**
Pride
Physical culture
Wrestling for **new** knowledge
The **seeing** mind
Devotion to **race and people**
Mastery of **earthly** life
Devotion to the "**people's community**"
Vigorous **fulfillment** of professional duties
Self-reliance
Readiness to **fight**
Energetic **rejection** of all that is bad
Revering of blood and soil
Unity of people
Culture of race
Elimination of the eugenically unsound
Birth increase of eugenically valuable
elements
Rejection of Jewry as hostile to the people
Rejection of the ancient Hebrew tribal
God of Yahweh
Freedom of creed
Reliance upon the senses
Joy in living
Confidence in mastering life through
one's own efforts

CHRISTIAN

A **negative** attitude
Consciousness of **guilt**
Humility
Self-castigation
Reliance on opinions as **old** as mankind
Blind faith
Reverence for the **idea of mankind**
Absolute priority for **religious** ideas
Devotion to the **hereafter**
Absolute **submission** to the Church
Dependence on **divine grace**
Peace at any price
Unconditional **tolerance**
Denial of blood and soil.
Doubt in faith
Muddling of race
Equal rights of the eugenically unsound
A fight through celibacy against an
increase in these
Recognition of the Jews as the chosen
people
Adoration of Him as the Supreme Being
A **coercive** creed
Religious speculations
Fear of life
Distrust of the man in one's self, because
of the burden of original sin

be purged of all "Jewish influence and interpretation," such as the conception of Jesus as the "Lamb of God" and the teaching of humility. He hails the heroes of the World War as martyrs and saints of the new religion because these men died "for the myth of the blood."

Hitler himself has openly stated the necessity of making war on Christianity in his autobiography called *Mein Kampf* or *My Struggle*, and declares that the adoption of methods of force and terrorism is merely following the example of Christianity itself. He says:

"Christianity was not content with merely erecting its own altar; it was forced to proceed to destroy the altars of the heathen. Such fanatical intolerance alone made it possible to build up that adamantine creed; it is an absolutely essential condition of its existence. . . . A world theory animated by devilish intolerance can be broken only by a new conception impelled by a similar spirit and fought for with an equally strong will, but a conception that is pure and sincere. The individual may realize with pain that with the appearance of Christianity there came into the much freer world of the ancients the first instance of spiritual terrorism. He cannot, however, dispute the fact that thenceforth the world has been oppressed and dominated by this force, and that force is broken only by force, and terrorism only by terrorism. Only by building up on these methods can a new condition of affairs be brought about. . . ."

Elsewhere, Hitler is quoted as saying:

"We are not out against the hundred-and-one different kinds of Christianity, but Christianity itself. . . . Even those Christians who really want to serve the people—and there are such Christians—will have to be opposed."

The teaching of the new nationalism and the Nazi war on Jew and Christian have met with bitter opposition from the two chief religious institutions—the Lutheran or Evangelical Church and the Roman Catholic Church. According to the census of 1925 there were 40 million Lutherans and 20 million Catholics in Germany. The organization of opposition has been weakened to some extent, however, in the case of the Lutherans by

certain teachings with regard to the State and in the case of the Catholics by the early promises of Hitler.

The Lutherans and the Nazis

It may be hard for us as Americans to understand how the German people could so easily have surrendered the right to govern themselves. But a good part of the explanation is to be found in the teachings of the Lutheran Church. ✓

First, there is the Lutheran respect for authority—of the church, ✓ of the government, of the head of the family. This willingness to obey the rules and accept the discipline determined by those in power has made the Germans “splendid followers but poor individual leaders.” Secondly, Luther made a distinction between private and public morality. The church was to be concerned with the private lives of the citizens. He regarded the state as “the divinely appointed authority based on reason, whose business it is to execute all the tasks which affect public order and the common weal; by this fact the State is distinct from the Church, which is dependent solely upon spiritual influence and vital personal fellowship.” (If “divinely” directed, then all public policies, including war, are justified.) For the Lutheran is taught to accept the existing order except when commanded to deny his religious faith. Only then does it become his duty to resist. ✓

And finally, Lutherans have been taught to accept their “stations in life,” and the conditions under which they live as part of an unchanging divine order. Therefore the social and economic ideas of the Lutheran Church are as conservative as its political theories. ✓

It is because of these ideas that Lutheranism was apparently in large part responsible for the failure of democratic government in Germany. Most Lutherans supported Hitler. They favored a return to an authoritative and nationalistic government. And this political support of Hitler has made it difficult for many of the clergy to see clearly the Nazi attack on Christianity. They have been convinced that the attempts to Nazify the church

were being made without Hitler's knowledge, just as some of the victims of the bloody purge of June 30, 1934, thought that they were being executed without his knowledge and died with the words "Heil Hitler" on their lips. Moreover, the Nazis have received staunch support from a large party in the church who called themselves German Christians at Hitler's suggestion. Consequently the history of the Lutheran Church in Germany during the past four years has been one of confusion, division and increasingly bitter conflict.

Gradually, continued interference in the affairs of the church, and the outspoken statements of men appointed by Hitler have made more and more of the clergy realize that the foundations of the Christian faith were being attacked. By October 1933 the opposition had organized as the Pastor's Emergency League with a membership of 3,000 pledged to defy the authority of the Nazi Reich bishop and all government interference with the ministry and teachings of the Church. The League has since grown to 7,000 and has been converted into the Confessional Synod of the German Evangelical Church, claiming to represent the rightful Church and leading the struggle against Nazification. On April 6th, 1937, the Lutheran Council, the most conservative Protestant body, ignored the decree of the Government for Church Administration and announced that Hans Kerrl, Hitler's Ministerial Director for Church Affairs, could not be considered a Christian and was therefore not to be obeyed. They proceeded to form a body called the "Interim Reich Church Administration" to which is committed the government of the churches until the election of the new Synod.

Each step brings more sharply into view the irreconcilable differences between the two "world views," the Nazi and the Christian. From the day when the Confessional Front was organized, bringing together those who feel that the Church as an organization must be based quite exclusively upon the idea of a confession of faith, down to the present, there have been many ups and downs in the struggle. But now all Christians who put their allegiance to their faith before their political loyalties are coming to see that they are driven together into direct opposition to the State which is seeking to become a new Church teaching another religion.

A Losing Battle over Youth

Perhaps most serious of all, the Lutherans have fought a losing fight in the matter of control over the training of German youth. From the first Hitler had the support of a large proportion of the young people of Germany. Gradually the government has increased its influence and tightened its control over the minds and emotions of the boys and girls. The official Nazi youth organizations are the "Hitler Youth" for boys and the "Federation of German Girls." By official decree these organizations are now supposed to absorb all other youth societies including those for Church young people. The leader of these official Nazi youth groups is Baldur von Schirach, who is outspokenly anti-Christian and who has introduced ancient pagan rites at their meetings. His command to the youth of the nation is "Stand together, fight for Adolf Hitler, fight for our German Fatherland. And if you do this, you are fulfilling God's will."

The Catholics and the Nazis

The very essence of the Catholic's religion is acceptance of the authority of the Church as the Word of God on earth. It is natural that sharp conflict should arise between the Catholic and a government which seeks complete control over every phase of the citizen's life, including his religious beliefs. Consequently, the Nazis have been trying in many ways to break the authority of the Catholic Church in Germany, and to discredit Catholicism with the masses.

\ First, they took steps to destroy the political influence of the Church which had been exercised through the Center Party. This Party was one of the most important factors in the political life of Germany in the days of the Republic. Like all other political parties, it was dissolved by Hitler within a few months after he came to power. In a Concordat between the Vatican and the Reich, the Pope conceded the right of the State to dissolve all Catholic organizations having even a semi-political program, and members of the clergy were forbidden to act or speak politically. The government

in turn agreed to respect the rights of the Church, particularly in the field of education.

In spite of the Concordat, the Nazis have interfered more and more with the parochial schools and the training of Catholic youth. By July, 1935, all Catholic youth organizations were forbidden to engage in sport, social or educational activities. Moreover membership in both the Hitler Youth and the Catholic societies is prohibited. In this way the Nazis have robbed the Church organizations of much of their appeal and lured Catholic boys and girls into membership in the Nazi groups.

Also in spite of the Concordat, many Catholics have been victims of Nazi terror and persecution. Several prominent Catholics were killed in the June 30 purge. Catholic publications have been censored and suppressed. By prosecuting nuns, monks and priests on charges of violating Nazi laws, the government has tried to prove to the German people that the Catholic leaders are enemies of the State.

Meanwhile the priests have found it necessary to oppose openly the Nazi attack on the Bible, and other fundamental principles of the Nazi religion, including the laws requiring sterilization. As a result, a battle is being waged between Nazi officials and the Vatican. The Nazis charge that in opposing government policies, the priests are using "the authority of their spiritual position for political purposes." The Church protests against increasing interference with the religious activity of the clergy, with Catholic lay organizations, and the freedom of the Catholic press.

The Pope Speaks

On Palm Sunday, 1937, the Pope sent an encyclical epistle to the German Bishops in which he deplored the increasing conflict between Church and State in Germany, but warned that the Church intended to fight for its rights and doctrines. He called attention to the tragic seriousness of the situation as evidenced by "the open fight against confessional schools protected by the Concordat and suppression of liberty of choice for

those who have a right to Catholic education." He expressed sorrow over the conditions which made it difficult for the Catholic to maintain his loyalty to the Church.

"With pressure veiled and open, with intimidation, with promises of economic, professional, civil and other advantages, the attachment of Catholics, especially of certain classes of Catholic government employees, to faith is exposed to violence as illegal as it is inhuman."

He then went on to attack vigorously the attempt to substitute the religion of nationalism for the Christian faith, and took serious exception to the Nazi doctrine that whatever benefits the nation is right, saying

"Those human laws which are in irreconcilable opposition to natural rights are tainted with original defect which cannot be healed either by coercion or by any form of external force. By this criterion is to be judged the principle: 'Right is that which is useful to the nation.'"

Hitler Replies

On April 13 the German government sent a note of protest to the Vatican in reply to the Pope's encyclical. The note expressed surprise that the Pope should engage in criticism of internal conditions in Germany and declared that the Reich would not tolerate any interference with its internal life.

An even more challenging reply to both Catholics and Lutherans was made by Hitler in a speech to German labor on May Day, in which he made clear his attitude toward religious organizations. He said:

"I will not tolerate that the German people's authority shall be menaced from any quarter. That holds good above all for the Churches. As long as they confine their activities to religious problems, the State will not molest them. If, however, they attempt to

arrogate to themselves through actions, pronouncements or encyclicals rights that belong to the State, we will drive them back to the domains of their spiritual and ministerial functions.

"Nor will we tolerate criticism of the State's morals when there appears to be sufficient reason to concern one's self about one's own morals. We propose to accept full responsibility for the morals of our State and its people."

What was even more defiant, he went on to state uncompromisingly the Nazi demand for exclusive control over the education of youth, which is at the bottom of ~~the~~ religious conflict.

"First of all, we made a start with the nation's youth. There are still among us old fogies who are no longer good for anything. According to their leanings, they stand either to the right or to the left and pass one another much as do dogs and cats.

"But this does not disturb us. We will take away their children. These we will train and educate to become new Germans. We will not permit them to lapse into the old way of thinking but will give them thorough training. We will take them when they are 10 years old and bring them up in the spirit of the community until they are 18.

"They shall not escape us. They will join the party, the SA, the SS, (the Storm Troops and Elite Guard) or other formations, or go into factories and offices. Later on they will do two years of military service. Who shall dare say that such training will not produce a nation?"

For Control of Conscience

✓ The goal of the Hitler government is one people, one Reich, one faith, based on the doctrine of blood, race, soil and the glorification of the State as incarnating God. In trying to carry out their program, as we have

seen, the Nazis have come into bitter conflict with both the Protestants and the Catholics. It is a struggle for control of the German conscience and will.

The churchmen, like the political leaders of the overthrown Republic, have been slow to see the dangers inherent in the Nazi philosophy. Hemmed in now by government restrictions and guarded by Storm Troopers, they find it difficult to develop any effective opposition. They cannot even make the issues clear to their own people. (Meantime a new generation is growing up which is likely never to know the truth about Christianity.)

REVOLUTION AND THE CHURCH IN SPAIN

We have heard a great deal about the burning of churches and the killing of hundreds of priests and nuns in Spain. And these reports are true. These atrocities represent only a fraction of the wholesale massacres and destruction that has been going on during the long months of the Civil War. Both the Rebels and the Loyalists have been guilty, ordering hundreds and even thousands of opponents shot down as soon as captured. It is estimated that by the end of the first six months at least half a million persons had lost their lives.

So the Spanish Civil War has turned out to be an extremely bitter struggle. And it is not only a civil war. It has come to be the center of the world revolution—the battle-ground on which the forces of Right and Left—of Fascism and Communism—are fighting for control. Within two weeks after the war started, Rebel General Franco had received airplanes and other military supplies from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Following the example of these nations, Russia sent in supplies for the Loyalist forces. And volunteer troops have poured in to strengthen both sides. In March, 1937, it was estimated that there were at least 50,000 foreigners fighting with the Rebels and about 20,000 on the side of the government, and the numbers have probably increased since that time. Thus the active interest of other European nations has served to prolong the struggle. This interest is not only likely to affect the outcome in Spain but also, because of the issues involved, may precipitate all too easily a general war in Europe.

The Issues Involved

Newspapers and commentators have found it easy to describe this war as a struggle between Fascism and Communism, and this may be largely true so far as the interests of Italy, Germany and Russia are concerned. But such a description is far too simple and represents only a part of the truth with regard to Spain itself. It has been claimed, also, particularly by certain American newspapers, that the war was provoked by Communists influenced by Moscow. But this too is far from the truth. There were not more than 50,000 Communists in all of Spain out of a population of 29,000,000. To understand the real issues it is necessary to go farther back than the past few years, and to see something of the nature of the country and its two chief institutions—its government and its religion.

A Feudal Monarchy

It is hard to realize that until a few years back the government of Spain was practically a feudal monarchy. A large part of the country was

still divided into great feudal estates under the direct control of Spanish grandees. The land was cultivated by peasant-serfs, entirely dependent on the will of the nobility. In another part of the country the land was divided up into tiny farms, so small that it was impossible to earn a living from them. These farms were cultivated by renters or share-croppers continually in fear of being dispossessed. Both serfs and farm laborers, therefore, were poverty stricken and illiterate to an appalling extent. Workers in industry did not fare much better. The country's political, social and economic systems thus condemned the masses of the people to misery, poverty and ignorance.

And as in feudal times, the strongest and most dominant institution in the country and the greatest property owner was the Catholic Church. The Church not only had great political influence and economic power but also had considerable control over all the educational institutions of the country.

A Try at Democracy

In 1931 the monarchy was overthrown and, as in Russia and Germany, the attempt was made to establish a Republic. The liberal and labor groups which came to power were pledged to bring about by democratic methods fundamental changes in the country's social and economic system. But here again, the wheels of democratic processes turned slowly, and the people were not trained in the ways of self-government. Democracy can only succeed when the people have the intelligence and the courage to govern themselves and are willing to accept certain moral standards.

The new Spanish Republic was attacked from both Left and Right. Workers and peasants grew impatient. The reforms were stubbornly opposed by those groups whose wealth and power were threatened. These groups were chiefly the Church, the landlords, and the army.

Under the Republic, Church and State were separated. Church property was no longer exempt from taxation. The Jesuits were ordered dis-

solved. The property of all religious orders was confiscated and the members eliminated from all educational activity except the teaching of religion. By these and other measures the Church was stripped of much of its wealth, practically all of its political influence, and a great deal of its control over education.

Other reforms were designed to cut down the revenues of the army officers and to limit their part in the government. The major part of the new program, however, had to do with land reform and the dividing up of the great estates among the peasants, thus dispossessing from 15,000 to 20,000 landowners.

SHIFT FROM RIGHT TO LEFT IN SPAIN

EACH FIGURE—20 MEMBERS OF CORTES OR PARLIAMENT

1933



1936



"The present conflict," says one expert, "represents the culmination of a struggle which has been going on and gathering strength ever since the establishment of the Republic in 1931. Both sides in this conflict are filled with fear—those on the Right with fear of what they call 'Marxist revolution', those on the Left with fear of reaction, and control by the militarists, Fascists, Monarchists, or Church authority."

A Militant Church

The Spanish Church has never remained neutral in times of conflict and is by no means neutral now. The great majority of the clergy are supporting the Rebels. According to eye-witnesses, machine guns have been fired from church towers and steeples against the civilian masses supporting the government. Church buildings have been used as storehouses for ammunition and as barracks for Fascist and Rebel soldiers. This to some extent explains the burning of churches by the government forces. In other cases, churches in Loyalist territory have been burned by Rebel sympathizers in order to discredit the government.

On the other hand, it is important to note that many good Catholics strongly supported the Republic and are now on the Loyalist side with the liberal Republicans and the laboring masses.

What is likely to be the future position of the Church in Spain? If the Rebels win, a Fascist state will probably be set up. In that case, will the Church be forced to surrender its authority as it is being forced to do in Germany or will it support Fascist doctrine? If the Loyalists win, the reforms outlined by the Popular Front will doubtless be carried out, perhaps with a far greater degree of socialization. Under such a regime, will religion and the Church be discarded as a reactionary force opposed to the welfare of the masses of the people, as has happened in Russia?

CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY

We have already seen in Germany the conflict which naturally arises between an all-inclusive nationalistic State which demands the total loyalty of its citizens and an authoritarian religion like Catholicism which likewise requires full devotion. Mussolini was quick to see what the results of such a conflict might mean in Italy where 99.6% of the people belong to the Catholic Church.

Moreover, a bitter controversy had been going on between the government of Italy and the Church ever since 1870 when the army of the new Kingdom occupied Rome and wrested from the Church a large part of its territory and all of its political authority. The way was open, therefore, for Mussolini to win the good-will of the Pope by settling this dispute and at the same time to harmonize the teachings and authority of the Church with the ideals of Fascism.

In 1929 an agreement was reached between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy, settling matters of territory, definitely establishing the relations between Church and State, and governing the activity of the Church in politics and education. As a result of this concordat, the Pope considered that the Church had again been brought into direct and official contact with the life of Italy. He stated that through it God had been restored to Italy and Italy had been restored to God. However, as in the case of the German Concordat, the Church failed to see the logical consequences of friendship with a strongly nationalistic government.

Silencing Political Opposition

According to the agreement, priests and members of religious orders are forbidden to take any active part in politics. In this way, the Fascists gained complete political control and silenced the one group of leaders who might have questioned the policies of the government and chal-

lenged the Fascist dictatorship. From the first the clergy had approved of Mussolini's program to put an end to civil strife and had passively helped him to suppress the Popular Party and to stamp out all opposition by maintaining an attitude of strict neutrality.

The Matter of Education

In the business of education the Fascists have, as a matter of fact, gained the active help of the Catholic Church. They recognize that at the heart of the Catholic teaching are the three elements necessary in the training of a good Fascist—discipline, reverence for tradition, and a religious conception of life. On this foundation can be built the Fascist virtues of complete obedience, unquestioning loyalty, and willingness to sacrifice. Therefore the Fascists have continued to require the teaching of the Catholic religion in all the schools. The crucifix is to be found in the schools side by side with the portrait of the King—"the two symbols sacred to faith and to national sentiment."

Having allowed the Church to develop religious devotion and discipline, the Fascists proceed to convert this attitude of mind to their own nationalistic ends. Mussolini has said, "These children must be educated in our religious faith, but we must integrate this education, must give to these young people the sense of virility, of power, of conquest; above all we must inspire them with our faith, with our hope."

Almost from the beginning the Pope recognized the results of such teaching, and took issue, but it was too late. The Fascists were in control, and the Church has found itself in the position of having to accept and even of excusing the military conquest of Ethiopia.

The State in Control

Thus Mussolini has solved the conflict of conscience which divided the Catholics between loyalty to the Church and allegiance to the Fascist State. To use his own phrase, "the citizen is a Catholic and the

Catholic is a citizen." And which authority is actually in control of the citizen's conscience, determining both his mental attitudes and his actions? The State. "The Fascist State asserts its ethical character; it is Catholic, but it is Fascist, above all exclusively, essentially Fascist."

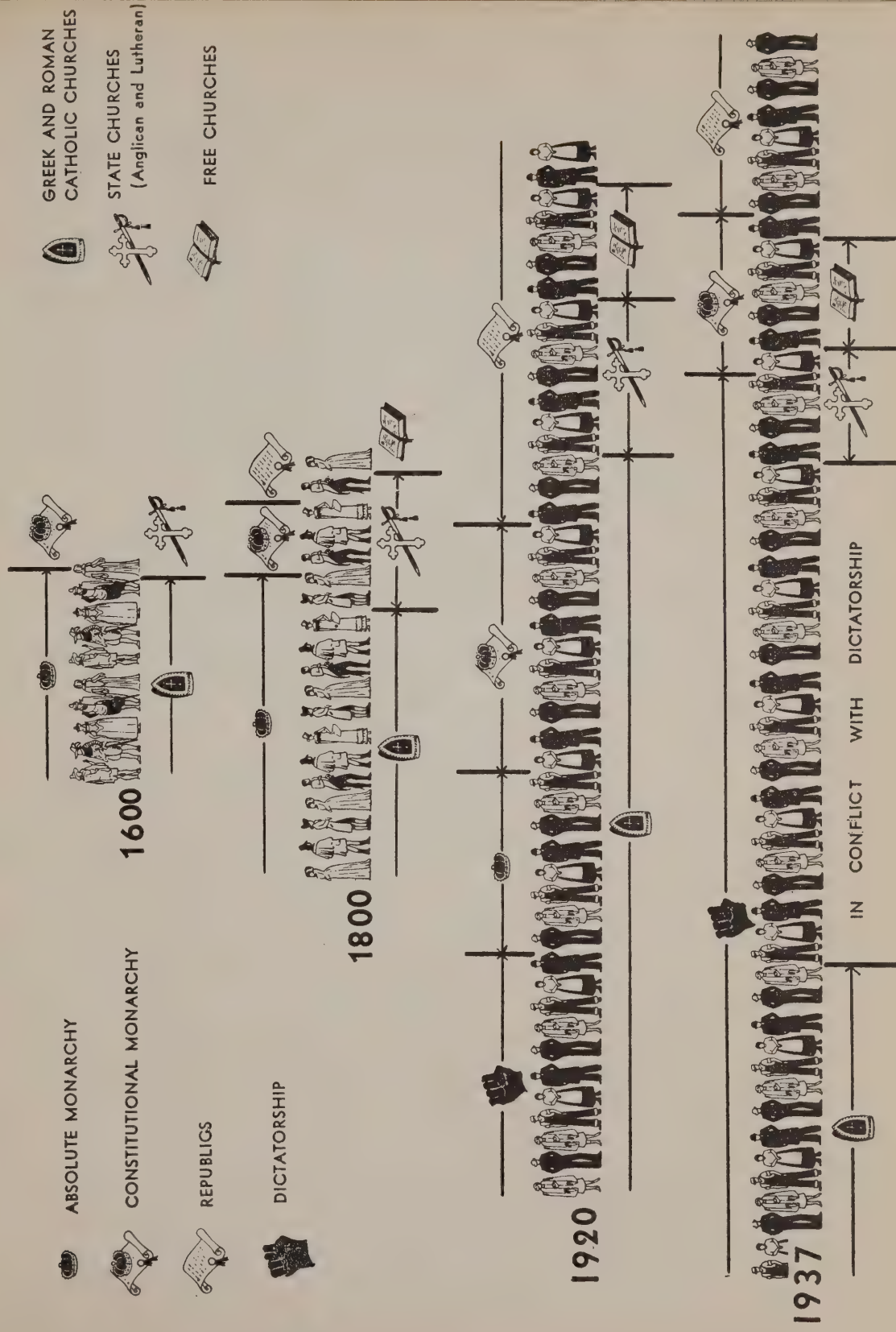
CHURCH AND STATE IN MEXICO

Mexico, like Spain, is in the midst of a social and economic revolution. The Mexican Revolution is not a bloody one, but it is painful. Moreover, it results from similar conditions—poverty and disease among the masses of the people, widespread illiteracy and superstition, extreme backwardness in the use of modern methods of science either in industry or agriculture. Seventy per cent of Mexico's people are dependent upon agriculture, and half of these farmers live as serfs in the great feudal estates. Add to this the fact that three-fourths of the country's wealth — natural resources, large industries, transportation and communication, public utilities, and even a good deal of the farm land—are in the hands of foreigners, and one can understand the need for social and economic change.

And here again the reorganization of the country politically and economically has led to sharp conflict between Church and State. This conflict extends back for centuries and has for years been a stumbling block in the nation's path toward peace, stability, and progress. The Church opposed

THREE CENTURIES OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION IN EUROPE

EACH FIGURE—10 MILLION POPULATION



Mexican independence. It has long been identified with reactionary elements. It has been said that "the beliefs of the clerical party . . . rested upon a denial of all the premises which practically every American takes for granted."

As a result of all this, the revolutionary forces have gone to extremes in the persecution of priests and members of religious orders. The new Constitution of 1917 abolished the old Spanish system of dual authority of Church and State. It aimed to strip the Church of political power and to transform it "from a powerful social and economic institution into an association of people united solely for religious and spiritual purposes." For instance, the Church was no longer allowed to own property and members of the clergy were not permitted to hold office. However, freedom of religious worship was guaranteed.

In the years that followed the adoption of the Constitution there has been intense bitterness both on the part of the clergy toward the new regulations and on the part of the leaders of the revolution toward the teachings and customs of the Church. These leaders resent the pattern of thought which exists in the minds of many peasants that the "soul is over all, and the religious leaders are always right." Therefore, Calles has said, "the state must enter and take possession of the consciences of the children," because "they belong and should belong to the Revolution."

Here again, then, as in other countries, we have the conflict in education, the Church claiming exclusive authority over the training of the young and the State insisting on the establishment of secular schools from which religious training is excluded. The purpose of education by the Church is "the preservation of the Catholic faith of our children and the salvation of their souls." The purpose of the government is to train the child as a member of a social and economic community. The government of Mexico has passed legislation to establish what are called "Socialist" schools, the term "socialist" meaning merely "socially useful" schools. For like Russia, Mexico is faced with the need of teaching its peasants to read and write, to keep clean, to avoid disease, to be skillful, and to replace primitive superstitions with scientific knowledge.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES

We Americans have insisted upon the separation of Church and State. We do not wish either one to interfere with the other. Our Constitution guarantees religious liberty. On the other hand our government is free from control by any religious body. Therefore, we are inclined to believe that we have no conflict between religion and politics. However, the matter, even here, is not as simple as it seems.

In the first place, history shows that we have never had any clear interpretation as to what "the separation of Church and State" means, and that it has been interpreted in different ways at different times, and by various groups of people. All that we have definitely settled is that all religious bodies shall have equal standing in the eyes of the law. But vital questions still remain. What, for instance, are the functions of the Church? How much of life belongs to the field of religion? What is the individual to do when religious conviction and political requirements do not coincide?

For the most part we have ignored these issues, because we have assumed that religion and politics have to do with wholly different spheres of human life. Religion, many say, is a matter of the "inner life," of spiritual affairs, of mystical devotion. Politics or government is concerned with the organization of secular interests. There is no reason why one should ever infringe on the other. However, this is actually not the case at all.

For those to whom church membership is more than a formality or mark of respectability, religion is all or nothing. The great religious prophets have taught not a creed but a way of life. The principles of Jesus reach into every phase of a man's activity. By its very nature then Christianity is meant to be "totalitarian," concerned with the whole of life. From such an interpretation it follows that conflict is likely to arise even in democratic America.

Conflict in Education

Most far-reaching perhaps is the controversy with regard to education. As in Russia and Germany, the teaching of religion is barred from our public schools, though not for the same reasons. We exclude religion not because of indifference or antipathy but in order to maintain complete impartiality, for we have many sects and creeds. To be fair to all we exclude all.

In the end, however, such neutrality serves to exert an influence against religion. For our schools not only teach the three R's but now take the responsibility for a certain amount of character education, the teaching of fundamental values and the development of a sense of social responsibility. As a result the children are likely to assume that religion is unimportant. What is more, by deciding what the schools are to teach, the State may exert considerable influence in the molding of character and the development of conscience.

Conflict in Moral Issues

Again, religious organizations and their leaders have become more and more outspoken with regard to moral issues in public questions—economic, social, political, international. The chart opposite shows the majority opinion of a large number of Protestant clergy on important issues of the day.

This growing concern of religious leaders over affairs that are considered secular and therefore outside the province of the Church is almost sure to meet growing opposition from those who regard such concern as meddlesome interference.

Conflict in Matters of Conscience

As the Church succeeds more and more in persuading its members to support moral issues, the line is more and more clearly drawn between

ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN CLERGY

QUESTION: Are you willing to serve in a defensive war?



QUESTION: Do you favor immediate entry into the League of Nations?



QUESTION: Should the Church refuse to sanction or support any future war?



QUESTION: Do you favor reduction in armaments by the U. S. regardless of action by other countries?



QUESTION: Do you favor military training in high schools and colleges?



EACH FIGURE — 5% OF 20,870 CLERGYMEN WHO ANSWERED A QUESTIONNAIRE ON SOCIAL ATTITUDES. THIS QUESTIONNAIRE WAS SENT TO 100,490 PROTESTANT MINISTERS AND JEWISH RABBIS IN 1936

the demands of religious conviction and the conflicting demands of a secular government.

The most striking example of this is the case of Professor Douglas C. Mackintosh. Professor Mackintosh applied for naturalization as an American citizen. As a matter of conscience he found it impossible to pledge himself to fight in any war in which the country should engage. In the belief that the State had no authority to coerce the individual in such a case, he appealed to the Supreme Court. And he lost.

The majority decision stated, in effect, that the State has absolute authority over the individual conscience. The minority judgment, written by Chief Justice Hughes, agreed with Professor Mackintosh that there is sometimes a higher loyalty than even loyalty to the State. Mr. Hughes said:

"Much has been said of the paramount duty to the State, a duty to be recognized, it is urged, even though it conflicts with convictions of duty to God. Undoubtedly that duty to the State exists within the domain of power, for government may enforce obedience to laws regardless of scruples. . . . But, in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained. . . . One cannot speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God."

A Difficult Problem

Thus we find that sharp conflict has arisen between religion and government in many parts of the world—a conflict that has caused suffering, persecution and even death for hundreds of thousands of people. We have found too that there are evidences of this same conflict even in our own country. What is to be the solution? It is not easy to formulate an answer for, as we have seen, any settlement is tied in with the difficult business of adjusting man's social and economic relationships to meet new conditions in a rapidly changing world.

Two considerations seem clear from this brief study of the conflict in various countries. First, it is increasingly difficult to separate the so-called spiritual things of life from the social, economic and political affairs of modern living. The time is past, if it ever existed, when the Church could take charge of a man's spiritual nature, direct his private life, and allow some other agency to provide the moral values for his economic or social or political relationships. The effort to make such a separation has served to weaken the influence of the Church and has done much to bring about the tragic disillusionment one finds particularly among youth with regard to religious institutions.

And secondly, the institution which is to challenge man's devotion in the long run, whether religious or political, must offer something more than escape from fear either of this life or the next. It must recognize the sacredness of human personality and provide the means of releasing that personality to higher and higher levels of achievement and aspiration.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick has summarized the crisis in religion in these words:

"In at least four major realms religion is feeling the powerful impact of the world's disturbed condition. First, the modern intellectual upheaval has shattered the mental pattern in which religion historically has been set. Second, religion, inevitably adding a sense of sacredness to everything it touches, has made holy many moral codes and customs which rapidly changing conditions have outmoded, so that religion's ethical leadership is widely doubted and challenged. Third, religion finds itself desperately at odds with opposing social philosophies. Under capitalism its ethic of love is denied by the overwhelming dominance of the acquisitive profit-motive; under communism it is outlawed as an enemy of the state; under fascism and nazism it is both refused freedom of action and utterance within the nation and is denied a universal God. Fourth, all the religions of the earth are increasingly poured together in the

mixing-bowl, with resultant cohesions and collisions, recognitions of kinship and of difference, infinitely disturbing—and promising.

"If one hopes for any victorious outcome for religion in the face of this complex situation, it must be because one takes a long look and is not too much obsessed by immediacies; because one has learned from history that out of the most disturbed eras, as out of travail, have come some of the great spiritual births; because one perceives in religion eternal factors indissolubly matched with deep and abiding human needs and not confined within any historic expressions."

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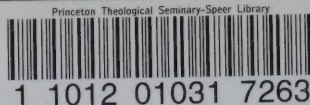
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